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appreciate them and never be made a mere pretext for grammatical or philological explanations.

I hope that Mr. Saintsbury's 'Edgar Quinet, *Lettres à sa mère*' will prove a success to the publishers, but I still have doubts as to the interest that students can take in letters. If any can please them, these will. Full of youthful cheerfulness and feeling without ever being sentimental, they give a vivid picture of Quinet's student life, his early travels and studies. No healthier book could be put into the hands of youth. It is comparatively easy reading. Théophile Gautier, on the contrary, is not easy reading. Prof. Knapp, of Yale, was the first, I think, who ventured to give long extracts from him in his very original French Reader, and now Mr. Saintsbury has selected twenty-four passages from his various *Voyages* which he has published under the title 'Scenes of Travel.' Spain, Russia, Italy, Constantinople, were all visited by the brilliant, the exuberant, the eccentric Théophile Gautier, and his vivid descriptions of scenes and places give him the highest rank as a word painter. He is, therefore, a good writer to give to advanced students to exhibit to them, as Mr. Saintsbury says, "the capabilities of the French tongue."

Mr. George Saintsbury's 'Specimens of French Literature from Villon to Hugo' can scarcely be ranked with propriety among the Clarendon Press French Texts. Yet its merits from a literary point of view are such that it ought in no sense to be considered as merely a French Reader. It forms a companion volume and is a very useful supplement to the same author's excellent 'Short History of French Literature,' a book which yields a great deal more than its modest title promises. The selections in the 'Specimens' are not only those of a man of taste but of a scholar who has an unusually wide range of knowledge in French literature. They are arranged solely with the view of giving a complete picture of the literary development of France from the end of the fifteenth century down to recent times. As a help, either to illustrate lectures or to accompany any text book in French Literature, Mr. Saintsbury's 'Specimens' are the very best work I know. Nothing in France in one volume has been published that is so

good and so practical, nothing that could so well meet the wants of student or instructor.

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SENECA'S INFLUENCE UPON "Gorboduc."

In his "History of English Dramatic Literature," Prof. Ward says that it is a phenomenon frequently observable in the history of the literature of translations that marked attention is paid at one particular time to one particular author. I think this is not only true of the literature of translations, but also of the influence exerted by a poet upon the literary taste and the development of a special branch of poetry. A very striking example in the history of literary influences is Seneca, whose tragedies—the collection of those ten pieces that usually go under his name—were translated and imitated in the beginning of the modern drama of the different nations.

This influence was first felt in Italy, where early in the fourteenth century several writers composed tragedies after the model of Seneca. Albertino Mussato wrote a Latin tragedy, called "Eccerinis," in which he retained the ancient chorus and all the predominant features of the classic stage. Like all the other imitators of Seneca, in the composition of his tragedy he made use of several of that author's plays, especially of "Thyestes." Of far inferior worth is a second tragedy by the same author, entitled "Achilleis." In the year 1464 Corraro wrote "Procne" on the same model, and as an evidence of how much the admiration for Seneca had increased, "Hippolyte" was about the same time produced upon the stage in the Latin language.

But here it may be asked, how was it that the Roman philosopher came to form the model of the dramatists of this period? Not only is this influence perceptible in Italy, but the two great tragedians of France are also indebted to him. Even in England, Germany and the Netherlands he has affected the drama in its origin, though it has digressed according to the taste of the respective nations. How did his writings exercise so universal an influence? Prof. Ebert entered into this question

in his "Entwicklungsgeschichte der französischen Tragödie," which fundamental work, I am sorry to say, has not been made use of by Symonds in his lately published work on Shakespeare's predecessors, though he avails himself very often of the investigations of other scholars.

So far as the nations speaking the Romance languages are concerned, the most evident reason was the affinity of their language with the Latin tongue. In these countries the Greek literature and language could only exercise a second-rate influence upon their poetry. Though in the case of English literature this may not be as apparent, yet it cannot be denied that the English language afforded greater facilities for the study of Latin than the purely Teutonic tongues. It is in this connection that Ascham says that Elizabeth "readeth here now at Windsore more Greeke every day, than some Prebendarie of this Chirch doth read Latin in a whole weeke"—meaning certainly that the study of Greek was neglected.

An almost equally weighty reason is the fact that the superficial character of the Latin tragedy well suited these modern tragedians who were not capable of painting with any depth of feeling or power of real passion, nor of rising to the conception of great characters. The tragedy of Rome never attained to the height of that of Greece. We abstain from further detailing this point as it has been dwelt on by Symonds and other writers.

Another point may help to account for the preference shown at this period for Seneca over his Greek predecessors. It is almost certain that the Latin tragedies were not intended to be acted. Sulzer is even of opinion that Seneca chose the dramatic form only as an exercise in rhetoric. Many of Seneca's sentences are characteristic of this tendency. The concise form of his theses is the principal quality of a Roman orator. Dramatic inspiration was eventually displaced by a feigned pathos, of which deterioration Seneca's tragedies form a good example.

Leaving undecided whether or not the imitators of Seneca wrote for purposes of representation, there seems little reason to doubt that he was accepted as the model of the earlier modern tragedians, because of the greater

facility with which his shallowness, his undramatical framework, and his neglect of some of the chief principles of composition could be imitated, than the artistic creations of the Greek masters. The Italians and the English seem to have for the most part intended their writings for representation. Garnier, the French tragedian, destined only his "Bradamante" for the stage, as may be seen from the preface.

Owing to the fact that learning had not so far advanced as to permit of a full comprehension of the worth of the Greek tragedians, and because the interest and taste of the English public was not sufficiently deep to allow them to appreciate the delicate psychological problems, the noble simplicity of language and the careful exposition of character of Sophocles and Aeschylus, there was but a small choice of classic models for imitation: of the tragic Latin poetry only those extant works purporting to be by Seneca came under this category—or in other words were available for purposes of imitation.

The high esteem in which Seneca was held at this time is shown by the arguments of several poets of different nationalities. Giraldi, an Italian, was firmly convinced that Seneca had improved on the Greeks. Still more positive in his assertions and at the same time more competent to pronounce an opinion was the French poet Scaliger, who says in his poetry: "Seneca quem nullo Graecorum majestate inferiorem existimo, cultu vero ac nitore etiam Euripide majorem. Inventiones sane illorum sunt; et majestas carminis, sonus, spiritus ipsius. (Poetice VI, 6). Even Malherbe assigns too great an importance to him.

In England the opinion of Sir Philip Sidney is entitled to greater respect, because he was the first to begin criticism. His praise of Seneca's style has been too often repeated to find again its place here. Ascham, who took great interest in the dramatic art, having "many pleasant talks together with M. Watson" (the author of the strictly classical tragedy of Absalom), in comparing the three precepts of Aristotle and Horace de Arte Poetica with the example of Euripides, Sophocles and Seneca,¹ does not seem to have overrated Seneca. On

¹ See Schoolmaster, Arber's Reprints, p. 139.

the contrary, he distinctly prefers Cicero, Livy and Vergil to all others, saying about the rest, among whom Seneca is certainly included: "And frowlie if there be any good in them it is either leane, borrowed or stolne, from some one of those worthie wittes of Athens." In another place he clearly states the superiority of the Greek tragedy: "In tragedies the Greecians, Sophocles and Euripides far ouermatch our Seneca in Latin, namely, in Economy et Decoro, although Senecaes elocution and verse be verie commendable for his tyme. And for the matters of Hercules, Thebes, Hippolytus, and Troie his Imitation is to be gathered into the same booke," (p. 130).

The classic French tragedy dates from Jodelle. His successor, Robert Garnier, followed Seneca in his eight tragedies with slavish fidelity, using oftentimes materials from other sources, but always imitating the bombastic style of the Latin author. Robert Estienne and Ronsard extol him as the greatest dramatist of France—which he really was at that time—preferring him to the Greeks. Two of his tragedies have been translated in England, where he seems to have enjoyed a good reputation. In 1594, Kyd translated "Cornelie," dedicated to the Countess of Sussex to whom he promised an English translation of "Porcie," Garnier's first play, which, however, never appeared. This translation must have been very much appreciated, for a new edition was published in the next year bearing the following title: "Pompey the Great, his faire Cornelia's Tragedie. Written in French by that excellent Poet, R. Garnier, and translated into English by Thomas Kid, at London 1595." Four years previously the Countess of Pembroke had translated M. Antoine into English.

According to Brunet, the first edition of Seneca's plays appeared at Ferrara in 1484; the first that bears a certain date, at Lyons 1491 (Nov. 28), which was followed by another in France in 1500. Two editions appeared at Florence in 1506 and 1513, and likewise two others at Venice in 1492 or 1463 and 1517. The first translation into French is dated 1795. Long before this translations of at least part of the works of Seneca had appeared in Italy, notably "Agamemnon" in 1497 and 1560.

Brunet does not mention any English editions of Seneca. For our purpose translations of his plays are of the greatest importance, for these tend to popularize the author by introducing him to a wider circle of readers. John, son of Jasper Heywood, was the first to set the example of translating Seneca. His first attempt was "Troades," which was translated in 1559, as is shown by the mention of it in the preface to "Thyestes," published in 1560. The following year saw the appearance of "Hercules Furens," and in 1563 "Oedipus" by Nevile was issued. "Thebais" was the last to be translated, in 1580. All these tragedies were printed again in 1581.

These translations are not literal, but have some claims to be regarded as original dramatic works. The translators allowed themselves considerable latitude of treatment and variation from the original text. They omitted passages in deference to the public taste, which was widely different from that of the Roman public. Errors in translation were frequent, owing to the misconception of the translators, and entire choruses and scenes were added to those of the original. Some followed the Latin text more closely, and Newton did not even venture to add a conclusion to the unfinished "Thebais." All these translations are in rhyme and are expressed in language so well chosen that it betrays the deep learning of the translators.

At what time does the influence of Seneca make itself felt in English tragedy? It is in vain to look for any English poet who followed his Latin model so slavishly as Garnier. In the drama of France and England differences in character may indeed be observed from the very first. In the one case, these differences culminated in producing Corneille and Racine, in the other, in Shakespeare. In the case of England the national element was always predominant, even when the writer followed a Latin model or drew his materials from the history of other nations than his own. The modern drama was not so widely separated from mediæval morality in England as in France. Even after Shakespeare and his contemporaries had begun their dramatic labors, mysteries were acted at Coventry and Chester, thus evincing the strong love of the people for

their national plays. Indeed, until the further development of literature had led to their unavoidable decay, miracle plays and mysteries still continued to be favorites of the English people.

The English dramatists had, of course, to make allowance for this national taste. They could only hope to gain the applause of the people by forbearing to introduce too strong a classic element, and were thus fortunately kept from falling into that bondage of rules and principles which has retarded the development both of the French and of the Italian drama. The early English drama was characterized by freedom, almost amounting to license, inasmuch as it admitted of no rules save the approval of the public.

The national unity of that period too, exercised a most wholesome influence on English dramatic poetry. More than any other nation did England possess this central unity which, as Goethe so bitterly complained, was denied to Germany. No scholastic disputes disturbed the development of the drama, and though Puritanic bigotry did for a time succeed in putting an end to the progress of dramatic representations, there was no Richelieu or Academy to thwart the national development of the drama. The foundation of the national drama being so strongly laid, the classical school of dramatists could only maintain their position for a short time, and were soon displaced by the true predecessors of Shakespeare. The influence extends merely to improvements in diction and exposition of characters. No play worth being preserved for the stage was composed by the small number of Seneca's imitators in England. Such as exist have only an interest for an antiquarian and student of the times.

The edition of "Gorboduc" or "Ferrex and Porrex" by L. Toulmin Smith² has excited new interest in the study of the English drama. This essay, condensing some of the researches of Collier, Ebert and others, was suggested by the above-named edition. Toulmin Smith gives an excellent preface to her edition, not leaving much for further investigation. Yet, I

think, my remarks on the influence of Seneca upon the language of these two English poets will furnish matter for a more detailed research into this interesting piece of literature.

The poets Norton and Sackville, in composing *Gorboduc*, followed Seneca's "Thebais." In both plays the plots are similar. Yet the mere resemblance of the matter of the two pieces does not justify us in supposing that Sackville and Norton made exclusive use of "Thebais." There is sufficient evidence to show that Seneca was their favorite literary study; that they were imbued with his ideas and had adopted his style. "Thebais" had formed the basis of their tragedy, though here and there throughout its course phrases are repeated that were taken from other tragedies of Seneca.

Sometimes it may seem as if the classics generally, including also the literature of Greece, had exerted some influence upon "Gorboduc." The striking resemblance of poetical expression in the tragedies in question will justify the suggestion that a classical influence is due only to Seneca, as the latter, moreover, explains all the divergencies from the national drama.

The most important of the three rules of Aristotle is the unity of action. No strict attention to this rule is observed in "Gorboduc." There is no leading idea in the play. In the foreground appear four persons, the King, Queen and two rival brothers, none of whom, however, are chief personages. A continued series of actions from the first to the last act is all that is given to interest us. The fifth act could easily be omitted without materially affecting the play, the unity of which it only helps still further to destroy. The effect of the murder of Porrex, undoubtedly the height of the tragedy, is weakened through its being communicated to the audience by a lady of the court. There is no catastrophe!

Great deficiency in the unity of his action has often been charged against Seneca. Thus "Octavia" which, though it was certainly not written by Seneca himself, is yet assuredly to be classed among the number of the influencing tragedies in question, as all the faults and peculiarities of language are well reproduced in it, shows numerous defects in the

² Englische Sprach- und Literaturdenkmale des 16, 17, u. 18. Jahrhunderts. Herausgegeben von Karl Vollmüller. Heilbronn, Henninger, 1883.

progress of the action. The case is still worse with "Troades," which is compiled from Euripides without the least appearance of design. "Medea" shows a better plan, but this exception only helps to prove the rule and justifies us in maintaining that Sackville and Norton were induced through the influence of Seneca to resign, so far as they have done, to the rule of unity of action.

As to the unities of place and time, treated in a similar reckless manner by the authors of *Gorboduc*, Ward likes to see the influence of the Spanish drama. I prefer the suggestion of T. Smith, who rather considers it as an element of the national play.

The chorus introduced into *Gorboduc* is an inheritance from the classic stage. The omission of the chorus at the end of the play is undoubtedly due to the influence of the Roman tragedian.

The "nuntius" is also taken from Seneca. Such a character was introduced for various reasons, the weightiest of which was that he could communicate to the audience things which could not be represented on the stage without interfering with the unities of time and action. He is retained in *Gorboduc* in conformity with the example shown by Seneca, though in the play frequent disregard of the dramatic unities is exhibited. All wars and assassinations happen behind the stage, the deaths which take place are merely suggested to the audience. Here the influence of Seneca is evident.

If *Gorboduc* possessed no interesting plot, it at least "dignified the stage by introducing into it moral reflection and stately measure," both of which were afterwards so much improved by Marlow and Shakespeare. The influence of Seneca is much more observable in the style—indeed we sometimes find direct imitations of long passages from the Latin tragedies. The style of Seneca, as has already been mentioned, is artificial, rhetorical and sententious, it is often so overcharged with barren and trivial metaphor as to weary the reader. Reiteration of phrases, mythological expressions and periphrases are a characteristic of his style, regarding which Quintilian says rightly: *Multae in eo clarae sententiae, multa etiam morum gratia legenda: sed in*

eloquendo corrupta pleraque, atque eo perniciosissima quod abundant dulcibus vitiis.

The most evident characteristic of a poet's style is the use of certain figures of speech. A collection of the most frequent will clearly prove the suggested influence.

The Gods of the mythology of Greece and Rome are introduced into *Gorboduc*, a piece dealing with legendary British history.

The end? thy end I feare, Joue end me first! 69.
Great Joue, defend the mischiefs now at hand. 659.

65, 842, 902, 1299, 1327, 1337, 1386, 1518.

The Gods are often represented as looking down upon the wars and quarrels of men and as darting down a flash of lightning upon the wretched.

Yet O ye Goddess, if euer wofull kyng
Might moue ye kings of kinges, wreke it on me
And on my sonnes, not on this gilllesse realme.
Send down your wasting flames from wrathful skies,
To reue me and my sonnes the hatefull breath. 805.
O heauens send down the flames of your reuenge,
Destroy I say with flash of wrekefull fier
The traitour sonne, and then the wretched sire. 946.

476, 879, 1299, 1623.

The analogies in Seneca 3 are very numerous:

Non si reuulso Juppiter mundo tonet
mediumque nostros fulmen in nexus cadat,
manum hanc remittam. O. fr. 59.
Non si ipse mundum concitans diuum sator
corusca saeua tela iaculetur manu
unquam rependam sceleribus poenas pares
mater nefanda. O. fr. 1050.

H. 521. M. 777, and particularly H. O.

Besides this there are frequent allusions to well-known names of ancient history, such as Hecuba, Priam, Cæsar, Tantalus, etc.

The following lines

This doth the pronde sonne of Apollo prone,
Who rashly set in chariot of his sire,
Inflamed the parched earth with heauens fire. 454.

may have been inspired by some of the frequent allusions to this story of mythology in Seneca's tragedies:

Ausur aeternos agitare currus
immemor metae iuuenis paternae
quos polo sparsit furiosus ignes
ipse recepit. M. 602.

3 L. Annaei Senecae Tragoediae, Accedunt Incertae Originis Tragoediae Tres. Recensuerunt Rudolphus Peiper et Gustavus Richter. Lipsiae.

talis per aurae non suum agnoscens onus
solique falso creditum indignans diem
Phaethonta currus deuio excussit polo. P. 1099.

M. 834. H. O. 858, 682. Compare Gorboduc 399 and 666.

This seems also to be the case with the introduction and description of the Furies in the Chorus of the 4th act. Compare Seneca: A. 796, 801. H. 87, 987. H. O. 675, 1007—1018.

The sun is clothed in a metaphorical garb taken from ancient mythology.—In the beginning of the tragedy we find the following verses:

The silent night, that brings the quiet pawse,
From painefull trauailes of the wearie day.
Prolonges my carefull thoughtes, and makes me blame
The slowe Aurore, that so for loue or shame
Doth long delay to shewe her blushing face,
And now the day renewes my griefull plaint.

Compare with these the first lines of "Octavia":

Jam uaga caelo sidera fulgens
Aurora fugat.
Surgit Titan radiante coma
mundoque diem reddit clarum.
Age tot tantis onerata malis
repete, assuetos iam tibi questus.

and a similar passage in "Medea":

Nunc Phoebe mitte currus
nullo morante loro,
nox condat alma lucem
mergat diem timendum
Dux noctis Hesperus. M. 882.

Aurora: H. 887. T. 818, 824, etc.

The use of the word "hand" bears a very close resemblance to Seneca's use of the word "manus." Neither Ferrex nor Porrex, nor any other person ever kills a man but their "hands" are always made to do the act.

And with his owne most bloody hand he hath
His brother slaine, and doth possesse his realme. 944.
And here in earth this hand shall take reuenge,
On thee Porrex, thou false and caitife wight. 1006.

In vaine, O wretch, thou shewest
A wofull hart, Ferrex now lies in graue,
Slaine by thy hand. 1127.

Porrex (alas) is by his mother slaine,
And with her hand, a wofull thing to tell,
While slumbring on his carefull bed he restes
His hart stabde in with knife is reft of life. 1240.

780, 977, 1025, 1050, 1071, 1210, 1236, 1266, 1325, 1520.

uirgo dextra caesa parentis. Oct. 305.
nec ad omne clarum facinus audaces manus
stabuli fugauit turpis Augei labor. H. 251.

Rapta sed trepida manu
sceptra optinentur. H. 345.
dextra contactus pios
sclerata refugit. H. 1325.

H. 102, 114, 258, 283, 376, 491, 570, 618, 886, 1039, 1045, etc.

O. fr. 91, 155, 173, 180, 217, 222, 227, 275, 329.

Still more frequent is the use of the word "heart," which occurs in striking analogy to the word "coeur" in Garnier's tragedies. The "heart" with our poets contains all the passions and sentiments of bravery and cowardice; of love and hatred, of desire and generosity—in short, it is a personified being.

Mee thinkes I see his envious hart to swell,
Filled with disdaine and with ambitious hope. 33.
And Brittain land, now desert left alone
Amyd these broyles uncertayne where to rest,
Offers her selfe unto that noble hart
That will or dare pursue to beare her crowne. 1487.

9, 316, 329, 363, 431, 480, 492, 524, 578, 633, etc.
Seneca uses "animus" in the same sense in which the English poets employ the word "heart." "Cor" appears mostly as a part of the human body.

nullas animus admittit preces. O. f. 241.

"Thebais" shows not many instances of the application of "animus," occurring more frequently in the other tragedies, as for example in "Hercules."

niinaces aget
niolentus iras animus H. 28.
meliora mente concipe atque animum excita. 315.

H. 354, 416, 1269, 1284, 1068.

We may add to this the metaphorical use of the word "breast" ("pectus").

Nor yet as if I thought there did remaine
So filthie cankers in their noble brestes. 284.
And cruell hart, wrath, treason, and disdaine
Within ambitious brest are lodged. 1319.

318, 436, 631, 764, 1110, 1161, 1172, 1225, 1286, 1494.

SENeca: quid pectus ferum
mollire tentas precibus? O. f. 140.
regum tyranne iamne flammatum geris
amore subito pectus ac ueneris nonae? Tr. 312.

Tr. 589. Oct. 270, 361, 453, 663, 885, 892, 904.
Seneca likes the adjective "durus" put as an epithet to pectus, for example: pectusque

soluam durum O. f. 113—tam ferus durum geris
saeuumque in iras pectus. P. f. 222.

Cf. GORBODUC:

Will euer wight beleue that such hard hart
Could rest within the cruell mothers brest. 1234.

1010, 1221, 1283, etc.

The frequent metaphorical use of "flame,"
"enflame" and "kindle" seems to be due to an
influence of Seneca.

If flatterie then, whiche fayles not to assaile
The tendre mindes of yet unskilfull youth,
In one shall kindle and encrease disdaine,
And enue in the others harte enflame, etc. 360.

And if ambition and inflamed disdaine
Shall arme the one, the other, or them both, etc. 387.

481, 712, 756, 819, 859, 885, 897, 900, 969, 1162.

SENECA: alitur et crescit malum
et ardet intus qualis aetnaeo uapor
exundat antro. Ph. 106.

crudelis uiri
secreta refugit semper atque ira pari
ardent mariti, mutua flagrant face. Oct. 49.
non illum avarae mentis inflammat furor. Th. 494.

Th. 549, 648, etc.

"Sceptre" is used instead of "empire,"
"government."

Ours is the scepter then of great Brittagne. 1508.

956, 1600, 1702.

SENECA: non hunc auferet frater mihi,
thebana raptio scepra qui regno tenet. O. f. 56.
quid scepra facient? P. f. 222.

H. 434. Tr. 280, 781. A. 10. P. f. 237, 286.

These quotations are entirely of the kind
still to be found in modern pathetical speeches.
Some belonging to the dictionary of the tragi-
cal language of older times, of Seneca and his
imitators, may be added. Happily, those
"blood-stained hands" and "fields drowned
in blood," and all the other expressions in-
tended to produce, that feeling of horror and
sympathy which the characters themselves
could not inspire, disappear in the bloodiest
tragedies of Shakespeare. In Gorboduc, they
form the greater part of that pathetical element
which may be indulged in only at the beginning
of tragical poetry.⁴

⁴ Lamb (Specimens of English Dramatic Poets) makes the following remarks in a note to Marlow's play, "Lust's Dominion": "Blood is made as light of weight in some of these old dramas as money in a modern sentimental comedy; and as this is given away till it reminds us that it is nothing but counters, so that is spilt till it effects us no more than its representative, the paint of the property-man in the theatre."

The following lines are a small collection of
those expressions that are directly translated
from Seneca:

The sonne so lothes the fathers lingering daies,
Ne dreades his hand in brothers blode to staine. 957.

The same chorus continues in his recitation:

Thus fatal plagues pursue the gilty race,
Whose murderous hand, imbrued with guiltlesse blood,
Askes vengeance still before the heauens face,
With endlesse mischiefs on the cursed bloode. 963.

Wilde sauage beasts, mought not their slaughter serue
To fede thy greedie will, and in the midst
Of their entrailles to staine thy deadly handes
With bloud deserued, and drinke thereof thy fill? 1013.

O cruel wight, should any cause preuaile
To make thee staine thy hands with brothers bloud? 1188.

1326, 1343, 1350, 1559.

SENECA: rudem cruore regio dextram inuit. Tr. 226.
cruenta caede pollutas manus. O. 435.
in patrios toros
tuli paterno sanguine adpersas manus O. f. 267.

GORBODUC: Is all the world
Drowned in bloud and soncke in crueltie? 1222.
Let them beholde the wide and hugie fieldes
With bloud and bodies spread of rebelles slayne. 1578.

1509.

SENECA: late cruentat arua. Ph. 1102.
hinc terras cruor
infecit omnis fusus et rubuit mare. Ph. 559.
O. f. 257. Ph. 506. O. 17, 524. P. f. 274, etc.

To "kill," "die" is expressed by several
periphrases.

GORBODUC:
Our present hand could stay no longer time,
But straight should bathe this blade in bloud of thee. 1072.
Then helpe to salue the welneare hopeless sore
Which ye shall do, if ye your selues withhold
The slaying knife from your owne mothers throate. 1066.

1243, 1245.

SENECA: ensem iugulo condidit. O. 747.
age reclude ferro pectus. Tr. 1011.

Tr. 48, 593, 1165. Th. 1186.

There remain still many expressions flowing
from Seneca—and life with iron reft v. 978,
'ferrum' in Seneca's tragedies; the thred of your
prolonged days v. 398, 'stamina' Clothonis. The
examples given include all those that occur
more frequently. The following lines are
quoted in support of our argument that the
poets, while imitating Seneca, had different
ones of his tragedies before them as models.
The third act begins with a speech which may

serve as the most striking specimen of an imitation of Seneca's style, and which is partly taken from Agamemnon.

O cruel fates, O mindful wrath of Goddess,
Whose vengeance, neither Simois stayned streames
Flouing with bloud of Troian princes slaine,
Nor Phrygian fieldes made ranck with corpses dead
Of Asian kynges and lordes, can yet appease, etc. 784.

Compare with these the verses of the "nutrix" in "Agamemnon" among which we find:

fluctusque Simois caede purpureos agens. 215.

It has been doubted by Warton whether Norton had any claim to the authorship of the first three acts, as throughout the whole piece there is an invariable uniformity of diction and versification. From various reasons alleged by T. Smith, we are not entitled to deny his participation, but must look for some other explanation of this harmony of language, which really exists. We cannot find any discrepancies between the diction of the first three acts and that of the remaining part of *Gorboduc*. Some few expressions occur, indeed, only in the first three acts, as the mentioning of the name of Morgan (v. 231 and 962) and the above cited lines speaking about Apollo's son (v. 399, 454, 666). "Womb" is to be found only in the fourth and fifth acts (v. 1023, 1027, 1035, 1039, 1537). This word corresponds to "uterus" or "uenter" as used in Seneca (for example, v. 1027 and P. f. 85). The verses 991, 1019, 1370, 1494, express also a common idea. In the last two acts words are frequently duplicated.

Then, then, haue pitie on the torne estate; 1665.

981, 1025, 1159, 1173, 1411, 1659, 1760, 1781.

Cf. SENECA: hac hac alli quia nemus alta
teritur alno etc. Ph. 10. O. f. 12, etc.

The following verses, however, scattered through the whole play, most evidently prove a closer connection between the two parts in question:

First whether ye allowe my whole deuise
And thinke it good for me, for them, for you,
And for our cuntry, mother of vs all. 138.

Their lands, their states, their liues, them selues and all. 763.

This flame will wast your sonnes, your land, and you. 824.

So will they headlong roune with raging thoughtes
From bloud to bloud, from mischiefe vnto moe,
To mine of the realm, them selues, and all. 1416.

Yet now the common mother of vs all,
Our natiue land, our cuntry, that containes
Our wiues, children, kindred, our selues and all
That euer is or may be deare to man. 1615.

94, 97, 109, 326, 675, 1652.

This uniformity of language admits of easy explanation. In order to write the last two acts Sackville had to look over the first part written by Norton, and thus revising the whole, created a work, the uniformity of which made some critics believe that it was written by one author. Lamb makes the following remarks: "The style of this old play is stiff and cumbersome, like the dresses of its times. There may be flesh and blood underneath, but we cannot get at it. Sir Philip Sidney has praised it for its morality. One of its authors might easily furnish that. Norton was an associate to Hopkins Sternhold and Robert Wisdom, in the Singing Psalms. I am willing to believe that Lord Buckhurst supplied the more vital parts." I find a silent approval of this opinion in the following passage taken from Puttenham's "Art of Poetry": "I think that for Tragedy the Lord Buckhurst and Master Edward Ferrys, for such doings as I have seen of theirs, do deserve the highest price." Turberville thus praises him above his contemporaries:

"I none dislike, i fancie some,
But yet of all the rest,
Sans envie, let my verdict passe,
Lord Buckurst is the best."

H. SCHMIDT.

Hoboken, N. J.

A PROBLEM IN MIDDLE ENGLISH.

In Vol. I, p. 272, of Bright's History of England, the following lines are quoted without translation:

"Ther sitteth somenours syexe other sevene
Mysmotinde men alle by here evene,
Ant recheth forth heore rolle;
Hyrd-men hem- hatieth, ant uch mones hyne,
For everuch a parosse heo polketh in pyne,
Ant clastreth with heore colle."

Now what does this mean? Especially, what do the second and sixth lines mean? Böddeker, in *Altenglische Dichtungen des MS. Harl. 2253*, offers us a more accurate text, which I here transcribe: